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1. Grammont Breviary, King David in Prayer, Master of Gerard Brilis, 1449-1450, Maredsous, Fo/3/3, f. 25 (see Marrow, col. pl. 1).

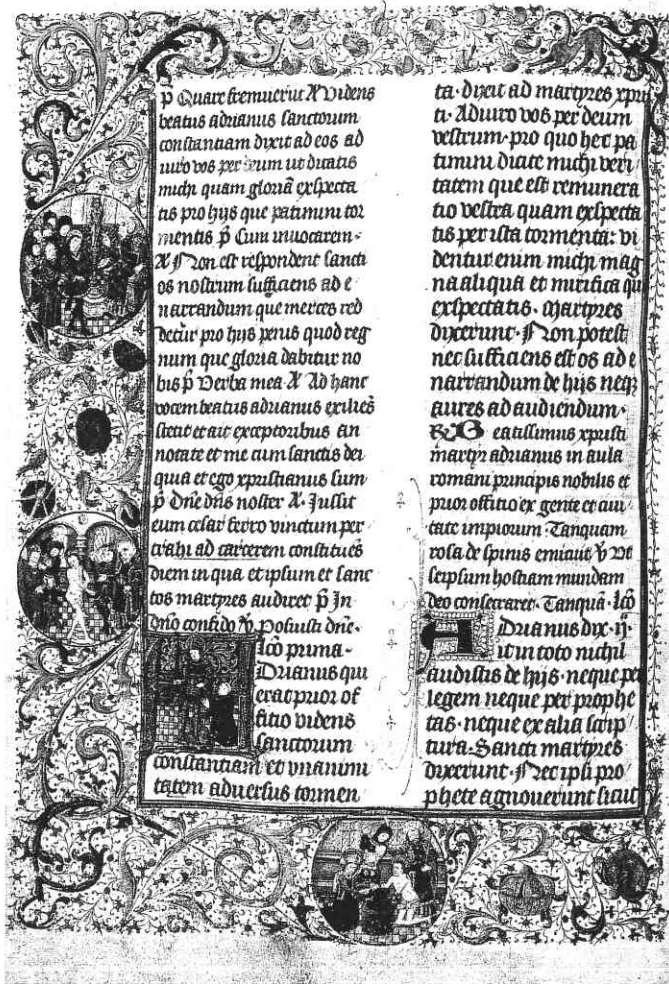
The Master of Gerard Brilis

Over the course of his career François Avril has defined the œuvres of a good many hitherto unknown miniaturists and expanded the bodies of works assignable to some well-known masters. He has also helped us to refine our understanding and appreciation of painters midway on the scale of obscurity and preeminence. In so doing he has occasionally named or re-named illuminators, and in some instances he has succeeded in connecting extant works with known historical personalities. In this short paper in his honor, I want to emulate his example by reconstructing the œuvre of a fascinating miniaturist active in the southern Low Countries primarily during the third quarter of the fifteenth century. During a career spanning approximately twenty-five years this relatively little-known painter appears to have contributed miniatures to works made in Brussels and Ghent, as well as in some outlying monastic centers, collaborating with some of the leading miniaturists of his day and in some instances furnishing all the illumination of individual volumes. His work reflects the influence of some of the well-known artists with whom he collaborated, and for that reason alone deserves our attention. It is also noteworthy in its own right because of this painter's elaboration of some traditional pictorial programs by the addition of marginal illustrations, his distinctive compositional and figural style, his coloristic sense and bright palette, and the quality and liveliness of his ornamental border decoration.

The Master of Gerard Brilis

The œuvre of this painter is partially known. In their 1983 catalogue entry on the presentation

copy of the *Roman de Girart de Roussillon* produced for Philip the Good and now in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Otto Pächt, Ulrike Jenni and Dagmar Thoss distinguished the hand of a collaborator who contributed marginal illustrations to two leaves of this book and identified works by the same painter in the *Breviary of Grammont Abbey* now in Maredsous.¹ In 1996, Eva Wolf more than doubled the œuvre, expanding it from the two works cited by Pächt, Jenni and Thoss to five certain works and one 'probable' attribution; she also provided the painter with a provisional, if somewhat ungainly name of convenience, 'Hand B of the *Sachsenheim Hours*.'² Five additional works can now be attributed to the same painter, including two securely dated and localized manuscripts and a very little-known Book of Hours in Saint Petersburg that is by far the most elaborate commission thus far known by this master. Three of the newly attributed works, including the Hours in Saint Petersburg, are entirely by his hand, which is of special interest because he participated only as one collaborator among several in the previously identified manuscripts. Because two of these works, Carthusian Bibles in Malmesbury and Brussels, were written by the same scribe, Gerard Brilis, and are securely dated, I propose re-naming this painter the Master of Gerard Brilis. For the purposes of this paper I shall outline his contributions to each of the ten works I ascribe to him, beginning with the previously identified works and then discussing the newly identified manuscripts. I shall conclude with observations on the course of his career.



1. Marginal Illustrations in the *Roman de Girart de Roussillon*

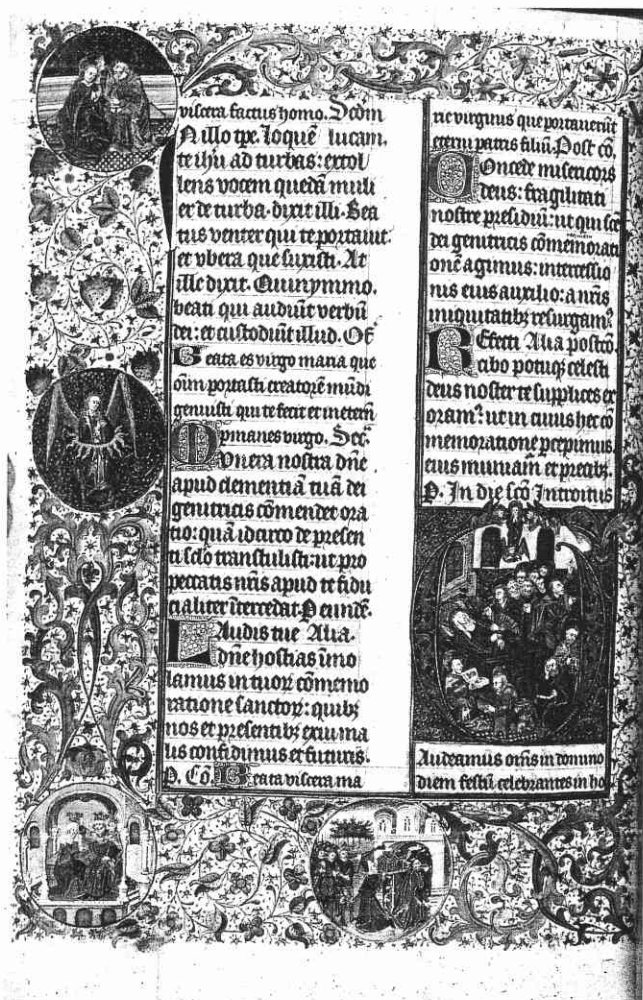
As noted by Pächt, Jenni and Thoss, who first distinguished his hand, the miniaturist I call the Master of Gerard Brilis contributed the marginal illustrations on two leaves in the presentation copy of the *Roman de Girart de Roussillon* produced for Philip the Good.³ The painter's distinctive facial types are recognizable even in the restricted space of these small marginal illustrations. Male figures, for example, are distinguished by their carefully delineated facial features, including prominent and notably straight noses with little indentation from the plane of their faces, and hairlines that descend, sometimes in forelocks, at the center of their foreheads. Despite the master's limited role in illustrating this manuscript, he was sufficiently well thought of to have been chosen to collaborate on one of the major commissions prepared for Philip

the Good in the decade c. 1448-1458, and to have worked there alongside one of the duke's principal illuminators during this period, the so-called Girart Master (who is named after this manuscript).⁴ The Girart Master has been plausibly identified as Dreux Jehan, a painter born in Paris who settled in Brussels by 1447, was named *valet de chambre* of Duke Philip in 1449, and figured as one of Philip's major illuminators until 1454.⁵ Virtually all commentators agree that this splendid copy of the *Roman de Girart de Roussillon* was likely illuminated in Brussels.

2. *Breviary of the Benedictine Abbey of St Adrian in Grammont (Geraardsbergen)*

Written in 1449-1450 by Wilhelmus de Predio, probably for Nicaise de Frasné, abbot from 1447-1461 of the Benedictine monastery of St Adrian in Grammont (Geraardsbergen), the *Grammont Bre-*

2. Grammont Breviary, Abbot in Prayer before St Adrian with marginal roundels of scenes from the Saint's life, Master of Gerard Brilis, 1449-1450, Maredsous, Fo/3/4, f. 95v (see Marrow, col. pl. 2).



3. Mondovi Missal, Death and Assumption of the Virgin with marginal roundels of the Coronation of the Virgin, Mary as the Apocalyptic Woman, King Solomon crowning the Queen of Sheba and King David bringing the Ark of the Covenant into Jerusalem, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1450-1455, Mondovì, Archivio Capitulare, f. 261v (see Marrow, col. pl. 3).

viary contains miniatures and marginal decoration by at least five illuminators, among them a painter related stylistically to the Masters of Guillebert de Mets and of the Privileges of Ghent and Flanders, and the Master of Gerard Brilis.⁶ Although the miniatures by the Master of Gerard Brilis appear only in the third and fourth volumes of this four-volume Breviary (those dated 1449 and 1450 by the scribe), he was responsible for a majority of the illustrated pages in the manuscript. Whereas the first two volumes of the Breviary contain only three and seven illustrated leaves, respectively, the last two contain twenty and thirty-three illustrated leaves, respectively, of which forty-seven (all but six) are by the Master of Gerard Brilis.⁷ Characteristic examples of the painter's style include the *Beatus* page of the third volume (fig. 1), where David bears the familiar facial features of a prominent, straight nose and a descending forelock at the middle of his forehead, and the leaf depicting the

abbot of the monastery in prayer before St Adrian (fig. 2), which was presumably reserved for the illuminator held in the highest esteem by the patron of the manuscript. On these and other leaves illustrated by the Master of Gerard Brilis, the painter uses pictorial roundels in the margins to elaborate a traditional cycle of historiated initials. Some of the roundels supplement the subjects of the initials, for example, by depicting additional events from the lives of saints, while others, such as those accompanying illustrations of events from the lives of Christ and Mary, portray incidents from the Old Testament that were understood to prefigure them. As an example of the latter, I mention the leaf with a historiated initial of the *Birth of Mary* that is accompanied by marginal roundels that portray *Balaam halted by an Angel with a Drawn Sword* and *Ezekiel's Dream of the Closed Gate*.⁸ These and other leaves illustrated by the Master of Gerard Brilis include border decoration executed in a palette simi-



4. Sachsenheim Hours, King David in Penitence, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1455-1460, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. brev. 162, f. 104.



5. Sachsenheim Hours, St John's Vision of the Apocalyptic Woman, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1455-1460, Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. brev. 162, f. 65 (see Marrow, col. pl. 4).

lar to that of the miniatures, which incorporates decorative motives found in other manuscripts by the painter. Distinctive elements include rose flowers portrayed variously in profile, head-on and from below, which are related to engraved models by the Master of the Playing Cards;⁹ large globe-like botanical forms, usually in gold and embraced or enclosed within acanthus (see the lower right corner of the decorated margin of fig. 2), and large strawberries, some of which are portrayed as if lit, usually from below, by a raking light.¹⁰ Some of these distinctive forms appear also in the border decoration of the *Roman de Girart de Roussillon*, suggesting that the Master of Gerard Brilis contributed border decoration as well as marginal illustrations to that manuscript.¹¹ There is no secure evidence to specify the locale where the *Grammont Breviary* was illuminated. As Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, the most recent author to consider the problem, has observed, scholarly opinion about the book's

production seems to vacillate between the poles of Ghent and Brussels.¹²

3. *Missal in Mondovì, Archivio Capitolare*

This Missal, which is for Franciscan Use according to the rite of Rome (f. 1: *Incipit ordo missalis fratrum minorum secundum consuetudinem romane ecclesie*), contains illustrations in three different styles.¹³ A first group, which illustrates the Temporal, Canon, and Votive Masses (found in gatherings 2-26 and 42) has been attributed to Jean le Tavernier by Friedrich Winkler and François Avril. This group consists of a full-page *Crucifixion* with marginal roundels prefacing the Canon of the Mass and eight leaves with historiated initials, all but two, like the full-page *Crucifixion*, also accompanied by marginal roundels.¹⁴ The second group, found in gatherings 31-38, illustrates the Sanctoral. It includes seventeen leaves with historiated

initials, four of which also have marginal roundels, and all of which are in the style of the Master of Gerard Brilis.¹⁵ A third group, which illustrates the Common of Saints (found in gatherings 39 and 40) and includes six leaves with historiated initials, is by Antonis uten Broec, a miniaturist active in the southern and the northern Netherlands in the 1450s and sixties.¹⁶

The leaf with a historiated initial of the *Death and Assumption of the Virgin* (fig. 3) displays many of the characteristic features of works by the Master of Gerard Brilis. These include his distinctive facial types (especially evident in profile views) and border motifs, such as strawberries lit from beneath, as can be seen in the upper left margin of fig. 3, and one of his singular onion-shaped vegetal forms, depicted just above the roundel in the lower left corner of the same page. The layout of the

leaves by the Master of Gerard Brilis in the *Mondovì Missal*, in which marginal roundels accompany many leaves with historiated initials, allies it closely to the *Grammont Breviary*, dated 1449-1450. It is linked as well with the *Malmesbury Bible* (no. 6, below), for which the scribe, Gerard Brilis, was paid in 1457, because the Master of Gerard Brilis collaborated again there with Antonis uten Broec. The date of the *Mondovì Missal* can be placed between these two commissions, c. 1450-1455.

4. *The Sachsenheim Hours*

In the *Sachsenheim Hours*, the Master of Gerard Brilis collaborated with at least two other illuminators. One is usually identified as Lieven van Lathem, a leading Burgundian miniaturist active in Ghent from 1454-1459 and later resident in Ant-

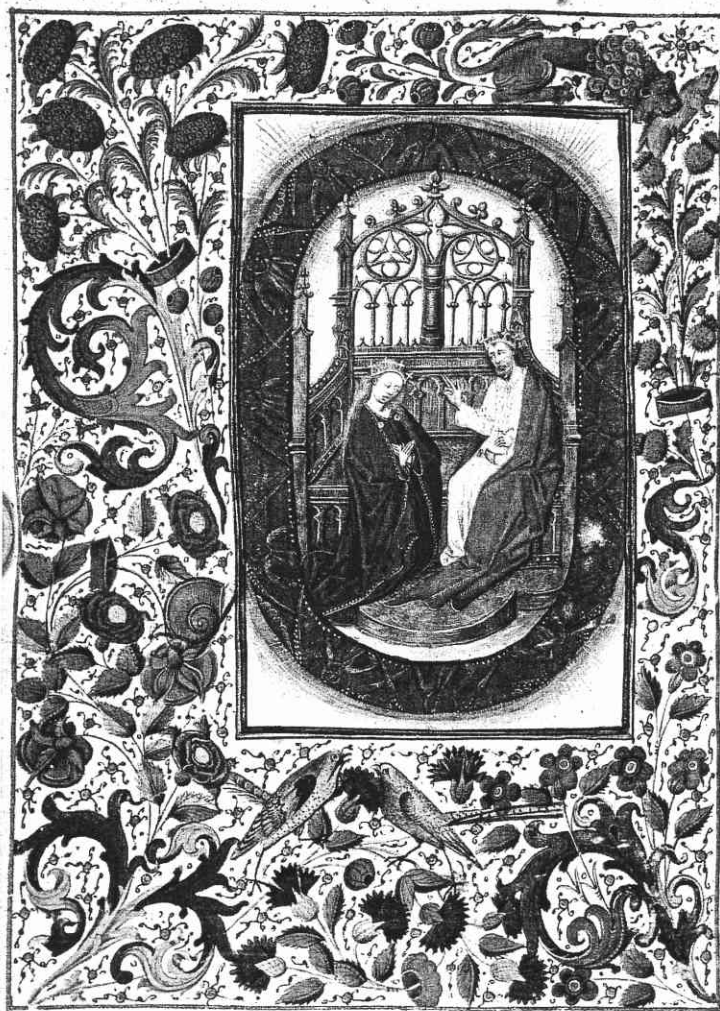


6. Amsterdam Hours, King David in Penitence, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1465-1475, Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. XXV C 26, f. 97v.

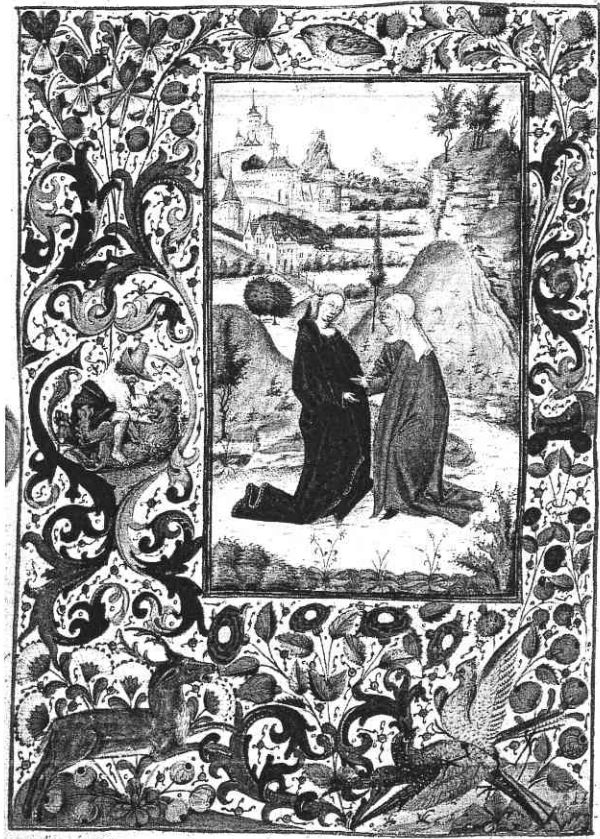
werp, who died in 1493; the other is unidentified.¹⁷ Lieven van Lathem was the principal illuminator of this book, providing the miniatures for the first six illustrated leaves (and the border decoration for the first five of these), the full-page miniature depicting the patron of the manuscript in prayer before the enthroned Madonna and Child (f. 126v, the composition of which echoes many features of Rogier van der Weyden's panel of *St Luke portraying the Virgin and Child*), and the first seven of the Suffrages. The Master of Gerard Brilis came next in priority, contributing three full-page miniatures to the commission and fourteen historiated initials (two portraying a kneeling donor) accompanied by his characteristic marginal decoration.¹⁸

Echoes of some of the Master of Gerard Brilis's earlier works appear in the *Sachsenheim Hours*. The

historiated initial of *David in Penitence* (fig. 4), for example, recalls that in the *Grammont Breviary* (fig. 1), but elaborates elements of the turreted castle or city gate behind David as well as of the landscape background. The painter also made use of the pictorial type found in his marginal roundel of the *Apocalyptic Woman* from the *Mondovi Missal* (fig. 3, roundel at the center of the left margin, which is unusual in portraying the sun with which this figure was 'clothed' as a band of rays encircling her waist), in a considerably more elaborate scene of *St John's Vision of the Apocalyptic Woman* (fig. 5). Familiar marginal motifs also appear, such as strawberries lit from below and large, bulbous plant forms (see the right margin of fig. 5). Many of the leaves decorated and illustrated by the Master of Gerard Brilis also include gamboling marginal figures that appear to



7. Amsterdam Hours, Christ blessing the Virgin, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1465-1475, Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. XXV C 26, f. 54v.



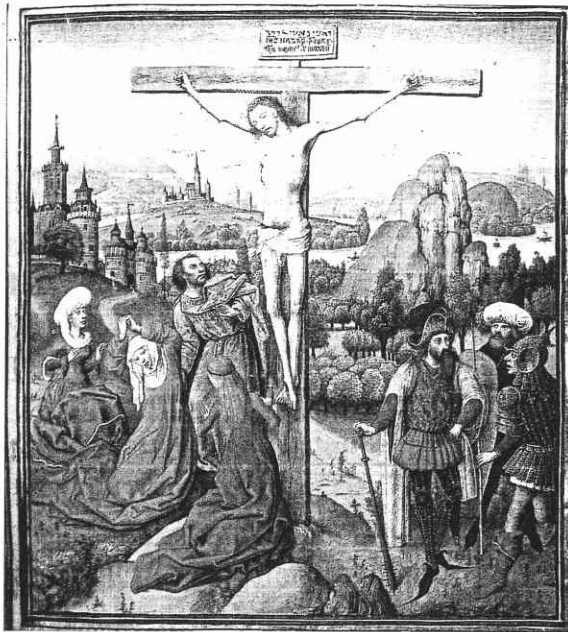
8. Amsterdam Hours, Visitation, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1465-1475, Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. XXV C 26, f. 72v.

have been inspired by Lieven van Lathem. As suggested by entries in the calendar and the prominent role Lieven van Lathem had in illustrating the manuscript, the *Sachsenheim Hours* was probably produced in Ghent. The probable date is c. 1455-1460.

5. *Book of Hours for Sint-Pieters, Ghent*

Three miniaturists contributed illustrations to this richly illustrated Book of Hours, which has a graded liturgical calendar containing many rare entries of saints whose relics were venerated in Sint-Pieters Abbey in Ghent.¹⁹ The numerous one- or two-column miniatures and small historiated initials in the corpus of the manuscript are the work of two miniaturists known to have worked on other manuscripts made for use in Ghent: the 'Master of the Feathery Clouds' (Meester der Verderwolken), a painter who worked both in Utrecht and Ghent (inter alia, on the *Eerste Privilegeboek* of Sint-Pieters),²⁰ and a miniaturist I propose to name the Master of Willem van Bossuyt after a

Missal he illuminated for use on a new altar commissioned and endowed by Willem van Bossuyt, abbot from 1418-1457 of St Bavon in Ghent.²¹ The eleven full-page miniatures in the manuscript, executed on inserted single leaves of vellum, are all by the Master of Gerard Brilis, but differ from his other works in having border decoration by another painter working in a style related to that of Lieven van Lathem.²² The compositions of some miniatures, such as the *Annunciation* (f. 65v)²³ and *David in Penitence* (fig. 6) recall those in the *Sachsenheim Hours* (fig. 4). Others, such as the miniature of Christ blessing the Virgin (fig. 7), with its elaborate throne and openwork tracery, point to possible influence from Simon Marmion.²⁴ The landscapes are more detailed, they are deeper and more atmospheric than in most other works by the Master of Gerard Brilis, and the palette of the miniatures is lighter. These features suggest that he might have emulated elements of the style as well as particular compositional motifs by Marmion. The miniature of the *Visitation* demonstrates this interest in



9. Pontifical of the Church of Sens, Crucifixion, Simon Marmion, c. 1455-1465, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque royale, ms. 9215, f. 129.



10. Malmesbury Bible, Prophet Sophonias inspired by God, Master of Gerard Brilis, 1457, Malmesbury Abbey Church, Vol. II, f. 107v.

light-toned landscapes that extend far into depth (fig. 8). The manner in which the painter uses a river to trace that movement through and around hills and cityscapes can be compared with analogous features of the landscape setting of the *Crucifixion* that Simon Marmion added to the *Pontifical of the Church of Sens* (fig. 9).²⁵ The Amsterdam Hours appears to be a late work by the Master of Gerard Brilis, not likely to have been produced before 1465 and possibly as late as c. 1470.

6. *The Carthusian Bible of Herne (Hérinnes-lez-Eng-hien) now in Malmesbury*

This little-known Latin Bible in four folio volumes includes a receipt in which the scribe, Gerard Brilis, acknowledges having been paid in 1457 for writing all four volumes by the prior 'vander capellen', that is, the Charterhouse of Onze-Lieve-Vrouw-Kapelle at Herne near Edingen – or La Chapelle at Hérinnes-lez-Eng-hien – some 25 kilometers to the southwest of Brussels.²⁶ The manuscript is noteworthy because of its unusually large size and extensive program of illustration. All of its biblical books and some prologues are introduced by a historiated initial, an illustrative scheme commonplace in small portable bibles of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries but exceedingly rare in a monumental Latin Bible. The miniatures are the work of at least three painters: Antonis uten Broec, who signed one of the miniatures and also collaborated with the Master of Gerard Brilis in the illustration of the Missal in Mondovì (see no. 3);²⁷ the Master of Gerard Brilis;²⁸ and an Italian or Italianate painter whose work appears only in the last of the four volumes.²⁹ The majority of the historiated initials by the Master of Gerard Brilis consists of depictions of the authors of biblical books or prologues, which accounts for a certain formulaic quality of some of the portrayals of standing or kneeling figures. Characteristic examples include depictions of the prophet Sophonias kneeling (fig. 10) and a standing St Paul introducing the Epistle to the Colossians (fig. 11). The leaves with illustrations by the Master of Gerard Brilis have relatively simple border decoration of ink sprays, foliage and floral forms above and below the text columns with historiated initials. Although the border decoration on all these leaves can also be attributed to the Master of Gerard Brilis, only a

few include the painter's characteristic strawberries (f. 106, 196v) or onion-like botanical forms (f. 46, 109, 192v, 194v, 198, 200v).

7. *The Carthusian Bible from Scheut*

Shortly after completing work on the *Malmesbury Bible*, the scribe Gerard Brilis and the illuminator I have named after him collaborated on another four-volume Latin Bible in folio format, this one made for the Carthusian monastery of Scheut just outside Brussels, founded only in 1455-1456.³⁰ Gerard Brilis was commissioned to write this Bible in 1457, when still working on the Bible at Herne.³¹ His hand may presumably be found in the first two or three volumes, the first of which has a colophon stating that it was completed at Scheut in 1460.³² Different hands collaborated in the writing and decoration of the *Scheut Bible*, the fourth volume of which, written by a different scribe, was produced at a later date and in a smaller format than the first three. Only the first two volumes were illuminated by the Master of Gerard Brilis. He contributed the two historiated initials found at the beginning of each of these volumes (the only illustrations they contain) – depictions of a standing St Jerome that illustrate prologues and miniatures of the *Creation of Eve* (fig. 12) and of the *Ascension*, respectively³³ – as well as the decorated initials and the marginal decoration on these leaves and those introducing other biblical books in these two volumes.

8. *Book of Hours from the Stieglitz Collection in the Hermitage*

A little-known Book of Hours in the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg is among the richest and most elaborately decorated and illustrated manuscripts by the Master of Gerard Brilis and one of the few for which he provided all the major illumination, rather than collaborating with other miniaturists.³⁴ The cycle of illustration comprises nineteen full-page miniatures, three historiated initials, and forty-five roundels that appear in the margins of the full-page miniatures and their facing text incipits, all on leaves complemented by border decoration of uncommon density and exuberance. A twentieth full-page miniature and its facing text page, also accompanied by marginal roundels, were removed from the manuscript



11. *Malmesbury Bible*, St Paul, Master of Gerard Brilis, 1457, *Malmesbury Abbey Church*, Vol. II, f. 192v.

prior to 1849, when they belonged to the distinguished English printer and designer, Owen Jones (1809-1874).³⁵ As can be exemplified by the leaves with full-page miniatures of the *Annunciation* (fig. 13) and the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fig. 14, which also includes a marginal depiction of one of the painter's characteristic onion-like botanical forms), interiors and landscapes are portrayed in greater detail and complexity than in other manuscripts by the Master of Gerard Brilis; the palette is richer, the forms more angular, and many compositions are peopled by more active figures. The landscape in the miniature of the *Annunciation to the Shepherds* (fig. 14), in which paths and rivers trace movement into depth along zigzag diagonals, is familiar from other works by the Master of Gerard Brilis, including the *Scheut Bible* (fig. 10). Other characteristic elements include the tall towers that project into the sky at the horizon (fig. 1, 4, 8, 11) and the painter's distinctive tall and thin trees (fig. 8, 11, 17). Many of these trees, as in the fore-



12. Scheut Bible, Creation of Eve, Master of Gerard Brilis, 1460, Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque royale, ms. 201, f. 1v.

ground of the *Annuciation to the Shepherds* in the *Hermitage Hours*, fork into Y-shaped branches just above sections where the thin trunks are depicted in zigzag shapes (fig. 4, 6, 8, 12). The illustrations include motifs of noteworthy pictorial imagination. Among examples, I note the miniature of the *Virgin and Child accompanied by angels*, where the Child is shown playing a stringed instrument held by one of the angels (f. 27v), or that of the *Raising of Lazarus*, which is set in an enclosed formal garden (fig. 15).

As in the *Grammont Breviary*, many of the roundels in the *Hermitage Hours* depict events from the Old Testament that were considered as prefigurations of the subjects of the larger miniatures they accompany. The roundels portray events known from such typological treatises as the *Biblia Pauperum* and the *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, but also include rare subjects not found in those works, and in some instances they continue or supplement the subjects of the large miniatures rather than depicting Old Testament prefigurations (see, for example, the roundel of a shepherdess and two

shepherds, one of whom walks on stilts, that accompanies the miniature of the *Annuciation to the Shepherds*, fig. 14).³⁶ The manuscript's owner is depicted in the three historiated initials, each of which introduces one of the major texts in the book, the Short Hours of the Holy Spirit (f. 15), the Hours of the Virgin (fig. 13), and the Office of the Dead (fig. 15).³⁷ The three historiated initials portray the owner accompanied by an angel holding an escutcheon that presumably originally bore his arms, but is now over-painted in matte gold. Had these armorial bearings survived, we might well have been able to identify the patron of this richly illuminated Book of Hours and to name the painter after that owner rather than the scribe of the Carthusian Bibles from Herne and Scheut. It has not previously been noted that the calendar of the *Hermitage Hours* contains a cluster of saints venerated in Metz, which suggests that the patron was resident in, or closely connected with, that city.³⁸ The style of the manuscript is most closely related to that of the *Sachsenheim Hours*, produced probably c. 1455-1460, which also



13. Hermitage Hours, Annunciation, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1460-1465, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Graphic Arts Department, Ms. 6, f. 47v-48 (see Marrow, col. pl. 5).

includes many lively figures caught up and playing in the foliate decoration of the margins. The greater visual complexity and formal stylization of the Hermitage Hours suggest that it is a later product, dating perhaps from c. 1460-1465.

9. *Four Miniature Leaves from a Dismembered Book of Hours*

Four miniature leaves from an unknown commission, now inserted into a Latin Book of Hours in Vienna that is dated 1466 and was produced possibly in the Northern Netherlands, are by the Master of Gerard Brilis.³⁹ The leaves are bound into this manuscript as two bifolios, consisting, respectively, of a full-page miniature of the *Crucifixion* and a facing leaf with a historiated initial of *David in Penitence* that commences the Seven Penitential Psalms, and a full-page miniature of the Virgin and Child in a landscape flanked by St Catherine and St Barbara and a facing leaf with a historiated initial of *Christ blessing the Virgin* that commences the

Hours of the Virgin. The two ensembles are unusual, for miniatures of the *Crucifixion* do not normally preface texts of the Seven Penitential Psalms, nor do depictions of the Virgin and Child flanked by saints normally introduce the Hours of the Virgin. Two of the illustrations include compositional motives that recall other works by the Master of Gerard Brilis: the figural arrangement and the open-work throne of the miniature of *Christ blessing the Virgin* have analogies in the large miniature of the same subject in the Hours for Sint-Pieters, Ghent, now in Amsterdam (fig. 7), and the figure shown on a prancing horse at the right side of the *Crucifixion* can be related to a similar mounted figure in the Hours in the Hermitage (see no. 8, above).⁴⁰ The authors of the catalogue of Flemish manuscripts in Vienna date these miniatures after 1466, taking the date in the Easter tables of the manuscript in which they are now inserted as a *terminus post quem*.⁴¹ While these miniatures may have been inserted into the Vienna manuscript in or shortly after 1466, the unknown manuscript from which



14. Hermitage Hours, Annunciation to the Shepherds, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1460-1465, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Graphic Arts Department, Ms. 6, f. 81v.

they were removed could have been produced earlier. 1466 should be seen as the *terminus ante quem* for these miniatures by the Master of Gerard Brilis rather than the date after which they would have been made.

10. *Book of Hours in the Collection of Heribert Tenschert*

The newest addition to the corpus of manuscripts by the Master of Gerard Brilis is a Book of Hours from a little-known American private collection that emerged at a sale in London in 2004 and is now the property of Heribert Tenschert.⁴² The book contains twelve full-page miniatures, one historiated initial, and an array of painted border decoration, all of it in the style of the Master of Gerard Brilis.⁴³ Some elements of the cycle of illustration are unusual. The only historiated initial in the manuscript is at Lauds of the Virgin, a de-

picture either of the *Visitation* (f. 72), which would then be replicated by the full-page miniature of the same subject on the facing verso (f. 71v) or of an unidentified typological counterpart of the Visitation. Terce of the Virgin has a miniature of the *Presentation in the Temple* (f. 96v; one normally finds depictions of the Annunciation to the Shepherds at this place in most Books of Hours from the southern Netherlands) and None a miniature of the *Circumcision* (f. 112v), which reverses the sequence of these events as recounted in the Gospels (miniatures of the Presentation in the Temple are customary at None). These two miniatures may now therefore be inserted out of sequence in interchanged positions.

The miniature that prefaces the Seven Penitential Psalms is also unusual: instead of depicting King David in Penitence, which is most commonly found with this text, it portrays the much rarer subject from I Kings 19:11-12, of *Michol helping David Escape from the Servants of Saul* by lowering him from a Tower (fig. 16). The change here from a conventional subject to this rare one is the more striking because the setting and structure of the miniature replicate many of the features of depictions of *David in Penitence* in other manuscripts by the Master of Gerard Brilis (see fig. 1, 4) – most fully, that in the Amsterdam Hours (fig. 6). Links with the Amsterdam Hours run much deeper than these shared details, for eight of the full-page miniatures in the Tenschert Hours closely parallel the compositions of the same subjects in that book, suggesting that the miniatures in these two books were produced close in date to one another.⁴⁴ One difference between compositional types of the same subject in the two books is particularly noteworthy. The *Crucifixion* in the Tenschert Hours (fig. 17) is a multi-figured scene rather than a three-figured or hieratic composition of the type found in the Amsterdam Hours (f. 174v). For the miniature in the Tenschert Hours the Master of Gerard Brilis made use of a prototype by Simon Marmion, quoting the figures of Christ on the Cross and the three soldiers to the right of it, as well as the placement (but not the pose) and the gaze of St John, from the *Crucifixion* that Marmion added to the *Pontifical of the Church of Sens* (fig. 9).⁴⁵ This quotation complements observations I offered previously about Marmionesque influence in the inserted full-page



15. Hermitage Hours, Raising of Lazarus and Donor at Prayer, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1460-1465, St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Graphic Arts Department, Ms. 6, f. 129v-130 (see Marrow, col. pl. 6).

miniatures of the closely related Hours in Amsterdam (no. 5). That manuscript, we recall, has a calendar for the abbey of Sint-Pieters in Ghent. The Tenschert Hours also has a calendar for Ghent, and its connection with that city is confirmed by its script, which is enlivened by fanciful and elegant cadelles in the distinctive style of Nicolas Spierinc, a favorite scribe of the Burgundian court who resided in Ghent and was active there from at least 1453 into the 1480s.⁴⁶ Like the Amsterdam Hours, the Tenschert Hours is a late work, likely to date c. 1465-1470.

The Career of the Master of Gerard Brilis

Far too little is known to write with certainty about the career of the Master of Gerard Brilis, but the ten works that can now be ascribed to him enable us to outline his activity in broad sweeps and propose some hypotheses.

The starting point is the *Roman de Girart de Roussillon* in Vienna (no. 1 above), for which we have the dates of 1447 and 1448, the first being the year in which Jean Wauquelin completed his compilation of the text of this national epic of Burgundian history for Philip the Good, and the second the year in which a ducal payment to Dreux Jehan for '[...] histoires, enlumineures et escriptures' has been connected plausibly with the Vienna *Girart*.⁴⁷ Although the Master of Gerard Brilis had only a minor role in the decoration and illustration of this commission, it provides us with the earliest date that can be associated with his work and a probable locale, for there is virtually unanimous consensus that the production and illumination of the Vienna *Girart* took place in Brussels.

His part in this commission as a collaborator of the Girart Master-Dreux Jehan may also be significant when one considers that Dreux Jehan is known to have been born in Paris and apparently settled in Brussels only in 1447, just prior to entering the service of Philip the Good and begin-



16. Tenschert Hours, Michol helps David to escape from a Tower, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1465-1475, Ramsen (Switzerland), Antiquariat Bibermühle, Heribert Tenschert, f. 140v (see Marrow, col. pl. 7).

ning work on the Vienna *Girart*. Might the Master of Gerard Brilis have been a French compatriot of Dreux Jehan, drawn as he was to Brussels by the allure of Burgundian patronage? Commentators have aptly remarked on the prominence of marginal illustrations in the program of illustration of the Vienna *Girart* and related this decorative scheme to French precedents of the first half of the fifteenth century by such miniaturists as the Bedford Master and the Master of the Rohan Hours.⁴⁸ Programs of marginal illustrations do not occur in later works attributed to Dreux Jehan, but it is striking how prominent they are in works by the Master of Gerard Brilis. Marginal roundels figure almost as a 'signature' element in many of his commissions, particularly those from the first portion of his career (the *Grammont Breviary*, written in 1449-1450, the *Mondovì Missal*, *Hermitage Hours* and the *Sachsenheim Hours*). Works by the Bedford Master seem the likely source of inspiration for the programs of

marginal roundels found in many works by the Master of Gerard Brilis, and the palette, bright colors, and atmospheric effects found in early works by the artist also seem to me to have analogies with manuscripts of the Bedford group dating from the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The Vienna *Girart*, the only secular manuscript on which the Master of Gerard Brilis is known to have worked, provides us with a date and a likely locale for his early activity in the Burgundian Lowlands and is one of the touchstones for suggesting that his origins or artistic roots might be traceable to Paris.

After his beginnings in the Vienna *Girart*, the Master of Gerard Brilis seems to have forged a career based solely on the decoration and illustration of manuscripts of religious subject matter. His religious commissions fall into two relatively distinct groups: works made for use in conjunction with the liturgy (the *Grammont Breviary*, *Mondovì Missal* and the Carthusian Bibles of Herne and



17. Tenschert Hours, Crucifixion, Master of Gerard Brilis, c. 1465-1475, Ramsen (Switzerland), Antiquariat Bibermühle, Heribert Tenschert, f. 22v-23 (see Marrow, col. pl. 8).

Scheut), which date from the period c. 1449/50-1460, and a series of Books of Hours (*Sachsenheim Hours*, *Hermitage Hours*, Vienna fragments, and the closely related Books of Hours in Amsterdam and in the collection of Heribert Tenschert), which likely date from 1460 into the 1470s. The chronological division corresponds with noteworthy changes of patronage, suggesting that the Master of Gerard Brilis made his reputation first in monastic and ecclesiastical circles and later gravitated to work in the sector of the book trade responsible for the production of Books of Hours, which was predominantly secular in character and orientation.

The proposed trajectory of the Master of Gerard Brilis's activity suggests further that he gradually achieved greater status in his profession. In the *Grammont Breviary*, *Mondovi Missal* and the Bible from Herne, he worked only as one collaborator among several, and in each of these works his

contributions follow those of one or more of his confreres. Only in works of later date, in contrast, and in Books of Hours do we find him entrusted with substantial commissions entirely decorated and illustrated by his hand (*Hermitage Hours*, *Tenschert Hours*), or for which he supplied all the full-page miniatures (*Amsterdam Hours*), or in which he worked in tandem with such leading figures as Lieven van Lathem and Nicolas Spierinc (*Sachsenheim Hours*, *Tenschert Hours*).

The Master of Gerard Brilis seems to have worked in two different locales, which also apparently follows the progression of his career. Brussels forms one axis of his activity and Ghent the other. The case for Brussels is strongest in the early works (Vienna *Girart*, the *Scheut Bible*, and possibly the Bible from Herne/Hérinnes-lez-Enghien, which is located only 25 kilometers southwest of Brussels). Ghent was certainly the locus of his later career, as shown by the calendars and other hagiographical or litur-

gical features of most of the Books of Hours he illuminated and his collaboration in some of these with Lieven van Lathem and Nicolas Spierinc (*Sachsenheim Hours*, *Amsterdam Hours*, *Tenschert Hours*).

The stylistic evolution of the Master of Gerard Brilis can be related to the influence of a succession of other artists (including those with whom he collaborated) or artistic styles. After beginnings that I have proposed we should trace to Paris and the orbit of the Bedford Master, we find the Master of Gerard Brilis absorbing influence from Lieven van Lathem, as can be seen most prominently in the lively marginal figures or drolleries found in such works as the *Sachsenheim Hours*, a collaboration with Lieven van Lathem, and the *Hermitage Hours*.⁴⁹ In the latest works, at least to judge from such characteristics as an enhanced interest in landscape and its atmospheric effects, the change to a lighter palette, and the compositional sources of some of his miniatures, the Master of Gerard Brilis seems to have fallen under the spell of Simon Marmion (miniatures in the *Amsterdam Hours*, the *Tenschert Hours*, and possibly the Vienna fragments, which I unfortunately do not know in the original).

The picture that emerges from this brief overview is of an eclectic painter eager to learn from his col-

laborators or other leading practitioners of his craft. While the Master of Gerard Brilis did not belong to the first rank of Flemish miniaturists, he contributed to one of Philip the Good's most important commissions and worked in tandem with such major figures as Dreux Jehan, Lieven van Lathem, and Nicolas Spierinc. In the span of the quarter century from c. 1450-1475, the Master of Gerard Brilis carved out a successful career illuminating books for monastic and secular patrons and working in at least two centers, Brussels and Ghent. His activity casts light on some of the complex currents of manuscript illumination in the Burgundian Netherlands just before its final phase, which commenced in the 1470s and lasted well into the first half of the sixteenth century.⁵⁰

Who was the Master of Gerard Brilis? Lacking the talents of our honoree, François Avril, I have not been able to discover sufficient evidence to identify our master. But I hold out hope that François or someone of his mettle will succeed in penetrating that mystery, or that the discovery of additional works by this distinctive painter will lead to new insights into his place in the tradition of southern Netherlandish manuscript illumination.

* My research on the miniaturist I call the Master of Gerard Brilis had benefited from conversations and correspondence with Klaas van der Hoek, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe and Eva Wolf. Bodo Brinkmann, Gregory Clark, Thomas Kren, Elizabeth Moodey, Dominique Vanwijnsberghe and Eva Wolf kindly read a first draft of this paper and provided useful suggestions for improvement (I thank other colleagues at appropriate places in the notes). For help in acquiring photographs I am grateful to Herbert Tenschert and Dominique Vanwijnsberghe.

1 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2549, f. 39 and 72. See Otto Pächt, Ulrike Jenni and Dagmar Thoss, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Flämische Schule I-II*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, ser. 1, no. 6-7, 2 vol. in 2 parts (Vienna, 1983-1990), I, p. 53, 58, fig. 56, pl. 52, 58, 59. L. M.J. Delaissé was the first to remark on similarities

between the design of the marginal illustrations and the schemes of border decoration in the *Vienna Girart* and the *Grammont Breviary*, but without identifying the same hand in both works; see L.M.J. Delaissé, 'Les techniques du livre dans le Bréviaire bénédictin de Grammont', *Scriptorium*, 12 (1958), 104-07 (p. 106), and idem, *Le siècle d'or de la miniature flamande: Le mécénat de Philippe le Bon*, exhibition catalogue, Brussels, Palais des Beaux-Arts, and Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum (Brussels, 1959), p. 42-43, cat. no. 38, and p. 54-55, cat. no. 45. Dagmar Thoss subsequently recognized the hand of the illuminator I call the Master of Gerard Brilis in the border decoration of some leaves of the *Girart de Roussillon*. See Dagmar Thoss, *Das Epos des Burgunderreiches Girart de Roussillon: Mit der Wiedergabe aller 53 Miniaturseiten des Widmungsexemplars für Philipp den Guten, Herzog von Burgund, Codex 2549 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien* (Graz, 1989), p. 28-29, fig. 34-39, pl. 10, 19.

- 2 Eva Wolf, *Das Bild in der spätmittelalterlichen Buchmalerei: Das Sachsenheim-Gebetbuch im Werk Lieven van Lathems*, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, vol. XC-VIII (Hildesheim, Zurich, New York, 1996), p. 63-74, 296-97, and passim. The 'probable' work in Wolf's list of manuscripts by her 'Hand B' is the *Hours of Mary of Burgundy* in Vienna (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1857). According to Wolf, in an unpublished lecture that Antoine De Schryver delivered at the 'Congress on Medieval Manuscript Illumination in the Northern Netherlands', held in Utrecht in 1989, De Schryver proposed that 'Hand B of the Sachsenheim Hours' should be identified as the border painter he called 'Maître Y' in the *Vienna Hours of Mary of Burgundy*; see Wolf 1996 (supra), p. 305, and for De Schryver's 'Maître Y', Antoine De Schryver, 'Étude de l'enluminure', in *Gebetbuch Karls des Kühnen vel potius Stundenbuch der Maria von Burgund, Codex Vindobonensis 1857 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Kommentar*, ed. by Franz Unterkircher and Antoine De Schryver, Codices selecti phototypice impressi, Commentarium, XIV* (Graz, 1969), 21-166 (p. 54-60). I do not see the hand of the Master of Gerard Brilis in the *Vienna Hours of Mary of Burgundy*.
- 3 See the literature cited in note 1, and Wolf 1996 (see n. 2), p. 310-15.
- 4 Jean Wauquelin of Mons received payment for the compilation of the text of the *Roman de Girart de Roussillon* in 1447, which provides a *terminus post quem* for the Vienna copy. For a proposal that the manuscript might not have been illuminated until a decade later, see Thoss 1989 (see n. 1), p. 30-33.
- 5 For Dreux Jehan, see Anne Hagopian van Buren, 'Dreux Jehan and the *Grandes Heures* of Philip the Bold', in *"Als Ich Can": Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. by Bert Cardon et al., Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, XII, Low Countries Series IX, 2 vol. (Leuven, 2002), II, 1377-1414, and *Illuminating the Renaissance: The Triumph of Flemish Manuscript Painting in Europe*, ed. by Thomas Kren and Scot McKendrick (Los Angeles, 2003), p. 212-16.
- 6 Breviary in four volumes, Denée (Belgium), Abbaye de Maredsous, Ms. F^o/3/1-4. Fullest descriptions by Luc Knapen, *Catalogue des manuscrits de l'abbaye de Maredsous*, Bibliotheca manuscripta monasteriorum Belgii, I (Turnhout, 1997), p. 8-12, and Réginald-Ferdinand Poswick, 'Le Bréviaire bénédictin de Grammont (Geraardsbergen)', *Le livre et l'estampe: revue semestrielle de la Société royale des bibliophiles et iconophiles de Belgique*, 43 (1997), 21-112 (correcting some errors in the description by Knapen). For the style of the miniatures and decoration, see Delaissé in *Le siècle d'or de la miniature flamande* 1959 (see n. 1), p. 42-43, cat. no. 38, pl. 16, Wolf 1996 (see n. 2), p. 261-66, Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the 8th to the mid-16th Century: The Medieval World on Parchment* (Leuven, 1999), p. 275-78, and the entry by Dominique Vanwijnsberghe in *Medieval Mastery: Book Illumination from Charlemagne to Charles the Bold, 800-1475*, exhibition catalogue, Stedelijke Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens (Leuven, 2002), 289-93, cat. no. 75. Vanwijnsberghe's attribution of a group of the miniatures in the Breviary to Antonis uten Broec, an illuminator known also as the 'Master of the Boston City of God' who was active in both the northern and the southern Netherlands in the 1450s and sixties, is challenged – in my view correctly – by Klaas van der Hoek, 'Antonis Rogiersz. uten Broec. Een verluchter uit Utrecht, werkzaam in de Zuidelijke en de Noordelijke Nederlanden', *Oud Holland*, 117 (2004), 119-36 (p. 134, n. 5).
- 7 The leaves illustrated and decorated by the Master of Gerard Brilis (all with historiated initials, some accompanied by marginal roundels) are: Ms. F^o/3/3, f. 25, 37v, 40v, 44v, 49v, 54, 57v, 61, 65, 69v, 74v, 84, 85, 86v, 95, 108, 131; Ms. F^o/3/4, f. 1, 5, 14, 21v, 39, 55v, 60v, 65v, 77v, 82v, 85v, 91, 95v, 109v, 116, 123v, 131, 135, 139, 140v, 144, 151, 153v, 162, 175v, 180v, 182v, 187v, 190v, and 201v.
- 8 Ms. F^o/3/4, f. 91, reproduced in color by Vanwijnsberghe in *Medieval Mastery* 2002 (see n. 6), p. 292, unnumbered illustration at the lower right, and discussed p. 293. The events portrayed in these roundels are adduced as prefigurations of the *Birth of Mary* in one of the best-known illustrated typological compendia from the late Middle Ages, the *Speculum Humanae Salvatonis*. See Albert C. Labriola and John W. Smeltz, *The Mirror of Salvation [Speculum Humanae Salvatonis]: An Edition of British Library Blockbook G. 11784* ([Pittsburgh], 2002), p. 22-25, 90-91, 93, fig. 12, 15. Roundels of similar type and subject matter are found in the margins of a little-known Book of Hours in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 244, for which see Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum*

acquired between 1895 and 1979 (excluding the *McClean Collection*), 2 vol. (Cambridge, 1982), II, p. 163-66. The Fitzwilliam Hours has a calendar for St Adrian, Grammont (red entries for the elevation and advent of St Adrian's relics as well as for his *passio*) and the use of the Hours of the Virgin is identical to that found in the *Grammont Breviary* (said to be of the Use of Ghent by Wormald and Giles, but the same text variants are found in manuscripts from a group of Benedictine abbeys in the Franco-Flemish border region). This manuscript is unfortunately in fragmentary and very poor condition. As shown by stubs and slice marks, it lacks all the full-page miniatures and some of the facing text incipits that demarcated major texts and their subdivisions, and the ten remaining decorated pages with marginal roundels are worn, damaged and possibly retouched in places. Even in its ruinous state it is apparent that the Fitzwilliam Hours is very closely related to the *Grammont Breviary*. The extant decorated leaves have elements recalling the two major styles found in the Breviary: that related to works by the Master of the Privileges of Ghent (e.g., f. 15) and that by the Master of Gerard Brilis. The subjects and compositions of some of the marginal roundels in the Fitzwilliam Hours are similar to those by the Master of Gerard Brilis in the *Grammont Breviary* and the Hermitage Hours (see below, no. 8), but the figure and facial types on these leaves lack the angularity and the emphatic stylization of other works by the painter. One wonders if they might have been executed by another miniaturist who knew works by the Master of Gerard Brilis or assisted him. Considering the range of relationships with other works illuminated in part or whole in his style, the Master of Gerard Brilis may have furnished the full-page miniatures, now excised, that originally adorned the Fitzwilliam Hours.

9 Thoss 1989 (see n. 1), p. 28-29, fig. 35-37.

10 For a good color reproduction of one of the leaves showing the Master's distinctively portrayed strawberries, lit from beneath, see the leaf cited in n. 8, above.

11 As noted by Thoss 1989 (see n. 1), p. 28-29, fig. 36, 39.

12 Vanwijnsberghe 2002 (see n. 6), p. 293.

13 Mondovì, Archivio Capitulare (olim Curia Vesco-vile), without signature (cited variously in the literature as the *Missal of Antonio da Campione*, or the *Missal of Pope Pius V*). See Wolf 1996 (see n. 2), p. 267-70, although with errors in the folio referenc-

es of miniatures, who distinguishes five hands in the illustrated leaves, and the entries by Ada Quazza in *Pio V e Santa Croce di Bosco. Aspetti di una committenza papale*, exhibition catalogue, Alessandria, Palazzo Cuttica, and Bosco Marengo, Santa Croce, ed. by Carlenrica Spantigati and Giulio Ieni (Alessandria, 1985), 360-67, and *Corti e Città: Arte del Quattrocento nelle Alpi occidentali*, exhibition catalogue, Turin, Palazzina della Promotrice delle Belle Arti, ed. by Enrica Pagella, Elena Rossetti Brezzi and Enrico Castelnuovo (Turin, 2006), pl. p. 296 (color reproduction of the full-page *Crucifixion* page), and 308, cat. no. 165, both with extensive bibliography. I thank Giancarlo Comino for his exceptionally generous help in my study of the Missal in Mondovì and Klaas van der Hoek for assistance in describing and photographing the manuscript.

14 See Friedrich Winkler, *Die flämische Buchmalerei des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts: Künstler und Werke von den Brüdern van Eyck bis zu Simon Bening* (Leipzig, 1925), p. 60, 186, and François Avril, 'Jean Le Tavernier: un nouveau livre d'heures', *Revue de l'Art*, 126 (1999), 9-22 (p. 14, 16, 18, 21 n. 26 and fig. 18). The attribution of some of the miniatures in this manuscript to Tavernier is contested by Georges Dogaer, *Flemish Miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987), p. 72, 76, and is considered questionable by Delaissé in *Le siècle d'or de la miniature flamande* 1959 (see n. 1), p. 43, cat. no. 39 and van der Hoek 2004 (see n. 6), p. 134, n. 9. The leaves with illustrations in a style related to that of Tavernier are on f. 1, 151v (the full-page Canon illustration of the *Crucifixion*), 152, 173v, 178, 179v, 187, 188 and 312. Other illustrations in this style may have been included on the leaves introducing masses for Christmas and Epiphany, excised respectively after f. 11 and 15.

15 F. 220, 245v, 248v, 253v, 254v, 255v, 259v, 261v, 264, 265, 267, 268v, 272, 273, 276v, 278v and 280v.

16 F. 282, 284, 287, 291, 292 and 293, all with border decoration also by Antonis uten Broec. For the attribution and for other books illuminated by Antonis uten Broec in the southern Netherlands, see van der Hoek 2004 (see n. 6), p. 123, fig. 6.

17 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. brev. 162, for which see the monograph by Wolf 1996 (see n. 2) with extensive bibliography. For Lieven van Lathem, see now also *Illuminating the Renaissance* 2003 (see n. 5), p. 239-45. Among authors who have questioned the attribution of miniatures in the *Sach-*

- senheim Hours* to Lieven van Lathem, see Delaissé in *Le siècle d'or de la miniature flamande* 1959 (see n. 1), p. 161-62, cat. no. 206 and Smeyers 1999 (see n. 6), p. 414, who associates the better miniatures in the manuscript with Dreux Jehan and prefers therefore to speak of a 'Sachsenheim Master.' The miniatures assigned by Wolf 1996 (see n. 2), p. 297-98 to a third, unidentified painter (her Hand C) are on f. 50, 58, 80v and 87v, although as she notes, this painter also furnished the border decoration to some of the leaves with miniatures by Lieven van Lathem.
- 18 Full-page miniatures on f. 57v (Wolf 1996 (see n. 2), fig. 4), 95 (nearly full-page: above two lines of text) and 103v (Wolf 1996 (supra), col. fig. 4); historiated initials on f. 43, 65, 74, 81, 88, 104, 127, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158 (Wolf 1996 (supra), fig. 5).
- 19 Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. XXV C 26. From the collection of Arnold Mettler of St Gall, his anonymous sale at Mensing et Fils (Frederik Muller), *Catalogue d'une collection de manuscrits à miniatures des IX^e-XV^e siècles: Collection d'un amateur Suisse*, Amsterdam, 22 November 1929, lot 41, plate with reproductions of the full-page miniatures on f. 167v and 87v. See Wolf 1996 (see n. 2), p. 237-40 (where inadvertently cited as Ms. XV C 26), fig. 7. I thank Jos Biemans for facilitating my study of the Amsterdam Hours and Klaas van der Hoek for help in photographing it extensively.
- 20 For the activity of the 'Master of the Feathery Clouds' in Ghent, see James H. Marrow, 'Prolegomena to a New Descriptive Catalogue of Dutch Illuminated Manuscripts', *Miscellanea Neerlandica. Opstellen voor Dr. Jan Deschamps ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag*, ed. by Elly Cockx-Indestege and Frans Hendrickx, *Miscellanea Neerlandica*, 3 vol. (Leuven, 1987), I, 295-309 (p. 307-08), and for the frontispiece this painter contributed to the *Eerste Privilegieboek* of Sint-Pieters (Ghent, Rijksarchief, Bisdome B 2956, f. 1), which is dated 1460, see Smeyers 1999 (see n. 6), p. 277-78, fig. 65. Miniatures by the Master of the Feathery Clouds in the Amsterdam Hours occur on f. 15v, 16, 16v, 17, 17v, 18, 19, 19v, 20, 20v, 21, 22, 22v, 23, 23v, 24, 25, 25v, 26, 26v, 27, 27v, 28, 28v, 29, 41v, 42, 42v, 43, 43v, 44, 98, 111, 139v, 141, 142, 144, 147, 147v, 148, 149, 149v, 150, 150v, 151v, 152v, 153 and 153v.
- 21 London, British Library, Add. 17440. See Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in The Department of Manuscripts, The British Library*, 2 vol. (London, 1979), I, p. 51, no. 188, II, fig. 824, and Scot McKendrick, *Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts 1400-1550* (London, 2003), pl. 81. This manuscript is dated 1483 in a cartouche in the upper margin of a full-page miniature on f. 13v, which portrays an abbot presented by St William to the Virgin and Child; McKendrick identifies the abbot as Willem van Bossuyt, who died in 1460. This accords with information in two rubrics in the manuscript. The rubric that introduces the table of contents (f. 2), states that the Missal was made for use for daily masses on the new altar founded by Willem van Bossuyt; a second rubric on f. 53 reiterates this information and also gives the obit of Willem van Bossuyt. Other works attributable to the same painter, whose style is related to that of Willem Vrelant of Bruges, but who favors taller figures and more linear forms, include:
- (1) Book of Hours in Latin and Dutch of Jacob Donche, counselor of Philip the Good of Burgundy and Watergraaf of Flanders, and his second wife, Philippa Utenhove, who were married in 1473 (the possible date when the manuscript was produced) and resided in Ghent (the manuscript has a calendar and litany of saints for Ghent), in Claremont, California, Scripps College, Denison Library, Kirby MS 1, for which see C.W. Dutschke and R.H. Rouse, with the assistance of Mirella Ferrari, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Claremont Libraries*, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in California Libraries*, I (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1986), p. 85-89, fig. 26-28 (where the date of Jacob Donche's wedding to Philippa Utenhove is given incorrectly as 1479) and Abinadab Dieter et al., 'Illuminated Manuscripts. Concentrating on Kirby 1: A Book of Hours', n.d. <http://www.win.ua.ac.be/~pavp/genea/kirby/index.html>;
 - (2) an unpublished Prayer Book in Latin and Dutch (f. 165, 124/125 x 90 mm), c. 1475, with a calendar and litany of saints for Ghent, illustrated with two full-page miniatures and twenty-nine historiated initials, in a private collection in Pennsylvania;
 - (3) Book of Hours, Rome Use, in Latin and Dutch, with a calendar for Ghent, illustrated with seventeen column miniatures, two rectangular marginal illustrations, and twenty-six historiated initials, Christie's, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts*, London, 9 July 2001, lot 23;
 - (4) Book of Hours, Rome Use, in Latin, with a calendar for Ghent, illustrated with six full-page minia-

- tures, Christie's, *Valuable Printed Books and Manuscripts, including Natural History*, 17 November 2004, lot 19;
- (5) Book of Hours, Rome Use, with a calendar for Bruges (and some Ghent saints), illustrated with fourteen full-page miniatures, in Turin, Museo Civico d'arte Antica, inv. no. 449/M (olim 914), for which see *Van Eyck, Antonello, Leonardo: Tre capolavori del Rinascimento*, exhibition catalogue, Turin, Biblioteca Reale, ed. by Giovanna Giacobello Bernard and Enrica Pagella (Turin, 2003), 42-43, by Silvana Pettinati, no. 10, color ill., p. 44;
- (6) unpublished Book of Hours, use of Tournai (Hours of the Virgin) and of St Bavon, Ghent (Office of the Dead), with a calendar for Ghent, illustrated with eleven full-page miniatures, of which five, introducing all the major texts, are by the Master of Willem van Bossuyt, and six by one of the 'Masters of the Beady [or Narrow] Eyes' (Maitres aux Yeux Bridés), who were also active primarily in Ghent, in the New York Public Library, MA 39, for which see Seymour de Ricci with the assistance of W.J. Wilson, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, 3 vol. (New York, 1935-1940), II, p. 1321.
- (7) Book of Hours, Rome Use, in Latin, with a calendar for Ghent, illustrated with thirteen full-page miniatures and two column miniatures, in Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. theol. 25, for which see Edith Rothe, *Medieval Book Illumination in Europe: The Collections of the German Democratic Republic* (New York, 1968), pl. 84 (where erroneously called a Breviary) and Kurt Heydeck, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Rostock*, Kataloge der Universitätsbibliothek Rostock, I (Wiesbaden, 2001), p. 37-38 (with some erroneous information in the description). The miniatures in the Amsterdam Hours that I attribute to the Master of Willem van Bossuyt are on f. 15, 30, 34, 37, 46, 46v, 49, 49v, 50v, 51, 51v, 52v, 53, 53v, 55, 66, 73, 77, 80, 84, 88, 93, 136, 145v, 154, 154v, 155, 156, 156v, 157, 157v, 158, 158v, 159, 159v, 160, 160v, 161, 162, 162v, 163v, 165 and 175.
- 22 The full-page miniatures by the Master of Gerard Brilis are on f. 54v, 65v, 72v, 76v, 83v, 87v, 92v, 97v, 110v, 167v and 174v.
- 23 See Wolf 1996 (see n. 2), p. 75-79, 297, who notes the relationship of the composition in the Amsterdam Hours (f. 65v, her fig. 7) to that in the *Sachsenheim Hours* (f. 87v, her fig. 6), suggesting that the miniature in the latter manuscript, which is not by the Master of Gerard Brilis, may nonetheless have been conceived and sketched by him, but painted by the collaborator she calls Hand C in this book.
- 24 For Marmion, an illuminator and panel painter who was active in Amiens from at least 1449 and resided in Valenciennes from 1458 to 1489, see *Illuminating the Renaissance* 2003 (see n. 5), p. 98-116. The elaborate throne and openwork tracery in the miniature of *Christ blessing the Virgin* in the *Amsterdam Hours* has analogies with a miniature of the same subject by Marmion in the *Berlaymont Hours* in San Marino, The Huntington Library, HM 1173, f. 61. See the reproduction by James Thorpe, *Book of Hours: Illumination by Simon Marmion* (San Marino, 1976), pl. 14, and for the manuscript, which is dated c. 1470-1475, see *Illuminating the Renaissance* 2003 (see n. 5), p. 108-10, cat. no. 12. The figural arrangement in the miniature of the *Nativity* in the *Amsterdam Hours* (f. 76v) may reflect knowledge of another of Simon Marmion's compositional types. The manner in which the figures of Joseph, Mary, and Christ are aligned in a regular and ordered progression along a diagonal that descends from the left side of the composition toward the right has analogies in *Nativities* by Marmion in a Book of Hours in Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, ms. 15 (conservé sous le n° 11), f. 75, and the *Huth Hours*, London, British Library, Add. 38126, f. 75v. For a reproduction of the miniature in Tournai, see Dominique Vanwijnsberghe, 'Simon Marmion III: L'Œuvre enluminé', in *Valenciennes au XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Art et Histoire*, ed. by Ludovic Nys and Alain Salamagne (Valenciennes, 1996), 169-79 (p. 171, fig. 17), and for that in the *Huth Hours*, see *Renaissance Painting in Manuscripts: Treasures from the British Library*, exhibition catalogue, Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, and London, British Library, ed. by Thomas Kren (New York, 1983), p. 33, fig. 4d.
- 25 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque royale, ms. 9215, f. 129. Reproduced in color by Smeyers 1999 (see n. 6), p. 344, fig. 78.
- 26 Malmesbury, Parish Church of Malmesbury Abbey [without signature]. See N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vol. (Oxford, 1969-2002), III (1983), p. 331-32. Ker gives a transcription of the receipt by Gerard Brilis, which has an erasure in part of the date (m^{cccc} 'ende' [.] vii) noting that 'ende' is written over a half-erased figure *l*, for the date of 1457. For the signature of Antonis uten Broec, which Ker was able to read only in part, and

details of his life and career, see van der Hoek 2004 (see n. 6). For the Charterhouse at Herne/Hérinnes, see H. Delvaux, 'Chartreuse de Hérinnes', in *Monasticon Belge, IV. Province de Brabant*, part 6 (Liège, 1972), 1429-456. I owe my knowledge of the *Malmesbury Bible* to the kindness of Claudine Chavannes-Mazel and Klaas van der Hoek. Richard Hatchwell, Pat Nicholson and Ron Bartholomew kindly facilitated my study of the Bible in Malmesbury, and Klaas van der Hoek assisted me in describing and photographing it. Frans Hendrickx informs me that he plans to publish a fuller description of the manuscript than that provided by Ker on the internet site (in development) of the 'Vereniging Cartusiana', recently founded (web address not yet known).

- 27 See van der Hoek 2004 (see n. 6). Antonis uten Broec contributed 27 illustrated and decorated leaves: all those in Vol. I (f. 1, 2v, 33, 55, 80, 103v, 104, 120v, 127, 139, 171, 172, 191v, 192, 200 [miniature in the right column signed by Antonis uten Broec, see van der Hoek 2004 (supra), fig. 4], 210v, 211) and Vol. III (f. 1, 2 [van der Hoek 2004 (supra), fig. 5], 43v, 78, 100v, 133, 161v, 162v, 181, 200v).
- 28 The Master of Gerard Brilis contributed 36 illustrated and decorated leaves (some with two historiated initials on a page): all those in Vol. II (f. 1, 27v, 46, 87v, 88, 93v, 95v, 99v, 100v, 101v, 104v, 106, 107v, 109, 110, 116v, 118, 119, 156, 157, 167v, 177, 183v, 186v, 190, 192v, 194v, 196v, 198, 200v, 202v, 203v, 204) and the first and last illustrations in Vol. IV (f. 1, 193v, 195).
- 29 The Italian or Italianate painter contributed 16 illustrated and decorated leaves (two with two historiated initials on the page), all in Vol. IV (f. 49v, 54, 55, 64, 78, 109, 109v, 112v, 116, 118, 121, 121v, 122v, 137, 138, 162). It has not yet proven possible to identify other works in this style or to pinpoint its origin (for kindly looking at photographs of the illustrated leaves in this manner, I thank Jonathan Alexander, François Avril, Silvana Pettinati, Ada Quazza, Giovanna Saroni, Gerhard Schmidt and Robert Suckale).
- 30 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek / Bibliothèque royale, ms. 201-203, 167. See J. van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, 13 vol. (Brussels, 1901-1948), I, p. 23, no. 49 (ms. 201, 202, 203), p. 25-26, no. 55 (ms. 167). For the commission and documents related to the production of each of the four volumes, see Albertus (Emiel) Pil, *Het middeleeuws scriptorium en de kloosterbibliotheek der Kartuziers te Scheut bij Brussel*, unpublished licentiaat (Katholieke Universiteit te Leuven, 1950-1951), p. 45-50 (kindly brought to my attention by Frans Hendrickx) and Micheline Soenen, 'Les manuscrits liturgiques de la Chartreuse de Scheut d'après une liste de 1551', *Archives et Bibliothèques de Belgique / Archief en bibliotheekwezen in België*, 49 (1978), 488-503 (p. 494-96). For the Charterhouse of Scheut, which was founded with the help of monks from Herne, see Micheline Soenen, 'Chartreuse de Scheut à Anderlecht', in *Monasticon Belge, IV. Province de Brabant*, part 6 (Liège, 1972), 1385-1427.
- 31 Soenen 1972 (see n. 30), p. 495.
- 32 See *Manuscrits datés conservés en Belgique: Manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale Albert I^{er} Bruxelles*, ed. by François Masai and Martin Wittek, 6 vol. (Brussels, Ghent, 1968-1991), III, 95, no. 387, pl. 687-88.
- 33 Ms. 201, f. 1 (*St Jerome*) and 1v (*Creation of Eve*); Ms. 202, f. 1a (*St Jerome*), 1b (*Ascension of Christ*).
- 34 St. Petersburg, Hermitage, Graphic Arts Department, Ms. 6 (olim Library of the Central School for Technical Design of Baron Stieglitz [Musée Stieglitz], inv. no. 4969). See A. de Laborde, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures conservés dans l'ancienne Bibliothèque impériale publique de Saint-Petersbourg*, 2 vol. (Paris, 1936-1938), II, p. 179-82, no. 171, pl. 82 (who, however, inadvertently omits the illustrations of a historiated initial and two border medallions on f. 48 and erroneously describes the illustrations on f. 110v as if on f. 106); T.A. Dolgodrova, 'Flamandskii tchchoslov XV beka iz gosudarstvennogo Ermitaja ['The Fifteenth-Century Flemish Book of Hours from the State Hermitage Museum,' text in Russian], *Musei*, 4 (1983), 107-17 (kindly translated into English for me by Vasily Rudich); and *Iskusstvo zapadnoevropeiskoi rukopisnoi knigi vekov V-XVI vekov* ['The Art of V-XVI Century European Manuscripts', text in Russian], exhibition catalogue, Saint Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum, ed. by G.V. Vilinbakhov and L.I. Kiseleva (Saint Petersburg, 2005), 194-98, fig. 132-35 (color ill., f. 13v-14, 47v-48, 15v, 129v-130), by L.I. Kiseleva (kindly translated into English for me by Todor Petev). The Hermitage Hours is mentioned *en passant* (although with an old or incorrect signature, Ms. N 60) in the discussions of the *Grammont Breviary* by

- Smeyers 1999 (see n. 6), p. 278 and Vanwijnsberghe 2002 (see n. 6), p. 293. Vanwijnsberghe's remark that this manuscript is for the Use of Grammont is mistaken: the Hours of the Virgin is for the Rome Use of the Franciscan Order (f. 48: *Incipit hore beate Marie virginis secundum usum Romane curie de ordine minorum*).
- 35 The excised miniature of the *Carrying of the Cross* and its facing text page are reproduced in chromolithography in *The Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages; an account of the development and progress of the art of illumination, as a distinct branch of pictorial ornamentation, from the IVth. to the XVIIth. Centuries by Henry Noel Humphreys, illustrated by a series of examples of the size of the originals, selected from the most beautiful Mss. of the various periods, executed in stone and printed in colours by Owen Jones* (London, 1849), p. 7, pl. 23. The legend that accompanies the reproduction describes it as 'a fragment of a Missal in the possession of Mr. Owen Jones', and states that the two reproduced specimens derive from a fragment consisting of 'several leaves of a very fine manuscript, purchased by Mr. Owen Jones in Granada ...'. My attempts to trace the subsequent provenance and present-day ownership of the leaves from Jones's collection have not been successful (I thank Rowan Watson for his efforts to help in this regard). Dolgodrova 1983 (see n. 4), p. 115, was the first to note the close relationship of the leaves formerly in the collection of Owen Jones to the Hermitage Hours, but despite their similar programs, layout (16 lines per page), measurements, and style, considered the Jones leaves as parts of a different Book of Hours, albeit by the same illuminator (an opinion repeated in the entry on the Hermitage Hours in the catalogue of the exhibition of manuscripts at the Hermitage by Kiseleva, *Iskusstvo zapadnoevropeiskoi* 2005 (see n. 34), p. 198). The Jones leaves fit precisely into the incomplete text and picture cycle of the Short Hours of the Cross in the Hermitage Hours, where they must originally have been located between folios 17 and 18.
- 36 For the fullest study of the subjects of the typological (and other) roundels, see Dolgodrova 1983 (see n. 34).
- 37 The three leaves with historiated initials are reproduced in color in Vilinbakhov and Kiseleva 2005 (see n. 34), p. 194, 195, and 198, respectively.
- 38 Calendar entries of saints venerated particularly in Metz include *Patientis episcopi* (8 January), *Legontii episcopi* (18 February), *Urbicii episcopi* (20 March), *Translatio sancti Therentii* (16 May), *Frominii episcopi* (27 July) and *Goerici episcopi* (20 September, more commonly venerated on 19 September).
- 39 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. S.n. 12908, f. 31v-32 and 44v-45. For the corpus of the manuscript, see Otto Pächt and Ulrike Jenni, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Holländische Schule*, Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Schrift- und Buchwesen des Mittelalters, ser. 1, no. 3, 2 vol. (Vienna, 1975), p. 87-88, fig. 262, 265, 268, 270, and for the inserted miniatures by the Master of Gerard Brilis, see Pächt, Jenni and Thoss 1983 (see n. 1), p. 81-82, fig. 132, 133. The attribution of these leaves to the illuminator I call the Master of Gerard Brilis was first made by Kay Sutton in the catalogue of the sale at Christie's, *Valuable Printed Books and Manuscripts, including Natural History*, 2 June 2004, lot 14, where no. 10 in my list of manuscripts was sold.
- 40 Folio 18v in the *Hermitage Hours* (see above, no. 8), reproduced by Dolgodrova 1983 (see n. 34), p. 110.
- 41 Pächt, Jenni and Thoss 1983 (see n. 1), p. 81.
- 42 Sale at Christie's 2004 (see n. 39), lot 14, and now the property of Heribert Tenschert, Antiquariat Bibermühle, Ramsen (Switzerland).
- 43 The program of illustration probably called for fourteen full-page miniatures. Miniatures are lacking at the beginning of the texts of the Gospel according to St John (f. 13) and the Mass of the Virgin (f. 44), both of which have decoration comparable to that found on all other openings in the manuscript that include full-page miniatures. Full-page miniatures of *St John on Patmos* and the *Virgin and Child* were presumably planned for these locations and may have been excised from the codex.
- 44 Miniatures of *Christ blessing the Virgin* (f. 35v), the *Annunciation* (f. 54v), the *Visitation* (f. 71v), the *Nativity* (f. 89v), the *Presentation in the Temple* (f. 96v), the *Massacre of the Innocents* (f. 119v), the *Flight into Egypt* (f. 121v), and the *Raising of Lazarus* (f. 166v) in the *Tenschert Hours* have close compositional counterparts to the miniatures on f. 54v, 65v, 72v, 76v, 83v, 87v, 92v and 110v, respectively in the *Amsterdam Hours*.
- 45 See n. 25.
- 46 The script of the *Tenschert Hours* is attributed to Nicolas Spierinc in the Christie's sale catalogue (see n. 39). I note in passing that the complex interlace initials found in the *Tenschert Hours* (e.g., f. 13, 23, 26, 44,

- and 120) have a counterpart in one of Spierinc's major commissions, the *Vienna Hours of Mary of Burgundy* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1857, f. 27), of c. 1470-1475; see the facsimile of 1969 (see n. 2). For Spierinc's life and career, see Richard Gay, 'Selected Scribe Bibliographies', in *Illuminating the Renaissance* 2003 (see n. 5), p. 520-21.
- 47 See the recent discussion by Chrystèle Blondeau, 'Jean Wauquelin et l'illustration de ses textes. Les exemples des *Faits et Conquestes d'Alexandre le Grande* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fr. 9342) et du *Girart de Roussillon* (Vienne, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 2549)', in *Jean Wauquelin de Mons à la cour de Bourgogne*, ed. by Marie-Claude de Crécy, with the collaboration of Gabriella Parussa and Sandrine Hériché Pradeau, *Burgundica*, XI (Turnhout, 2006), 213-24 (p. 213-17), as well as the important study of van Buren 2002 (see n. 5) for the activity of Dreux Jehan.
- 48 See, to cite only one example of many, Smeyers 1999 (see n. 6), p. 302.
- 49 Influences may also have flowed in the opposite direction, for in one manuscript from the Lieven van Lathem group the decorated margins of some leaves include onion-like botanical forms in gold that are not attributable to the Master of Gerard Brilis but seem to have been inspired by analogous botanical forms found in his works. See the Hours in Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 143, f. 46, 192, 201, 208, 211, 216, 218, 220, 232v and 250v. See Alain Arnould and Jean Michael Massing, with contributions of Peter Spufford and Mark Blackburn, *Splendours of Flanders* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 72-73 (reproduction of f. 216) and Wolf 1996 (see n. 2), p. 249-51, fig. 11 (reproduction of f. 250v).
- 50 For which see *Illuminating the Renaissance* 2003 (see n. 5).